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ABSTRACT

This discussion of government policy concerning child day care calls for a shift from provider-oriented to consumer-oriented services funded under Title XX of the Social Security Amendments. Three general views of child day care are described: the social services view, the school-oriented view, and a newer, parent-supportive, consumer-oriented view. An extensive discussion focuses on major problems of the Title XX program for child day care, including: restrictive federal requirements, such as the ceiling on state expenditures and the requirement that a single state agency administer the state's entire Title XX program; absence of a preventive and family-supportive approach to day care; limits to eligibility and lack of a sliding fee scale (in 20 states), resulting in segregation of the poor; faulty payment methods; and inadequate provision of training, particularly for licensing and regulatory personnel. Options for new legislative and administrative solutions to these problems are discussed. Recommendations include: increased citizen-consumer voice in policy-making, a flexible delivery system to match shifting demand patterns, universal accessibility, and a sliding fee scale. (BF)

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THE TROUBLE WITH TITLE XX: A REVIEW OF CHILD DAYCARE POLICY

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THE TROUBLE WITH TITLE XX:
A REVIEW OF CHILD DAYCARE POLICY

INTRODUCTION

A new administration in Washington always brings new hope for a better future, and nowhere is this more the case than among the advocates of improved child daycare policy. Policy change, within the realm of the practical and feasible, is badly needed. For ten years now, the providers and advocates of daycare have been spending incredible energy in trying to avert inappropriate policy decisions, or in trying to undo decisions which should never have been made. Forced to respond, government officials have been engaged in a time-consuming struggle, which has used up both people and money. Surely there must be a way in which the talents of child daycare providers can be used in caring for children rather than in a Sisyphus struggle to push the rock of child daycare policy forever up a steep hill.

Impatient with restrictive guidelines, inappropriate regulation, costly payment policy, and insensitivity to family problems, human service providers are becoming increasingly well organized. More and more, policy is being made through a process of negotiation between organized providers and fiscal people at the state level. The voice of the citizen and consumer is not part of this process. Long term policy issues will be forgotten in favor of immediate money issues if this direction in policy-making continues. The child daycare scene is increasingly provider-dominated, except in a few locations where consumer-oriented information and referral centers play a strong role, or where an association of citizens funnels the money to the centers.

Policy-makers and advocates for daycare appear to be operating from different underlying assumptions. For one thing, Title XX administrators appear to see the child daycare provider under that funding source as a "program." Thinking in terms of program, rather than policy, they have ignored the efforts of providers to use Title XX as just one strand in an overall effort to serve the whole community, bringing together all sources of public and private funds. They have failed to consider the effect of policy decisions on the children who need care and whose parents are paying the total cost.

The country already has a widely diverse network of child daycare services. Ten billion dollars is being spent, and even more childcare is provided through non-monetized arrangements in the immediate family and with relatives and friends. Of the monetized daycare, two billion dollars comes from the federal government; another billion and a half comes from state and local governments and private donations; and six and a half billion is being paid by parents.

Such an extensive and important network of services needs some overall policy direction as the government seeks constructive ways to fit its

Title XX piece into the whole daycare puzzle. Instead, the government has made policy as if the non-publicly-funded children were not there.

In 1970 at the White House Conference on Children, Dr. Alfred Kahn chaired a Task Force on Delivery Systems to try to bring greater clarity to discussion of child daycare future policy. The first question addressed by the group was whether a new, government-run "program" was needed when the expected Child Development legislation became reality. The group concensus was that new daycare policy should build on the existing network of public and private centers and family daycare homes, improving them and linking them rather than creating a new system. Yet that issue has been little understood in the years which have followed. The Task Force also urged continuation of a variety of auspices and types of service with an emphasis on parent choice.

What does the future hold for child daycare? The service could go in several directions, depending on which vision predominates.

(1) There is the traditional social service view of child daycare, which creates the service in its own image, as a help to families in trouble. The service can be viewed as treatment of a problem or as prevention of an identified potential problem

The network of day care does not quite fit this image. One-third of the mothers with preschool children and one-half of the mothers with school age children are employed. Between 11 and 12 million of the 18 million children with working mothers have mothers who work full time, an increase of about 30% since 1965. While some of these families have troubles, many are strong and healthy, working to maintain self-sufficiency and to improve the quality of life for their children.

When child daycare is run by an agency staffed with professionals with social work training, this daycare for healthy families is often seen as a low priority. It is very difficult to work in an agency engulfed with human crises and see a need for giving priority to children in healthy families. Yet many believe that viewing daycare from a perspective of health is essential for a high quality child daycare program. One researcher[1] found in cross-cultural comparisons of child daycare that the successful programs around the world, among other characteristics, "assume the inevitability of a good outcome because they see themselves as working with essentially normal children in need of help and guidance and not sick children in need of treatment." Such a health-oriented daycare program is of course an invaluable therapeutic community for children and parents with problems, but that does not define the program.

(2) The early childhood educators have tended to make daycare over in their image, too. Child daycare is like a school, whether in a center or family home. If the agency running child daycare is staffed with educators, the emphasis is likely to be on learning, rather than on total development of the child. While educators are better able to focus on the healthy child, they have tended to be child-centered, viewing the family as part of the external environment of the program, rather than central to it. The implication is that experts know more about children than parents do. Child daycare is of interest to educators, but is not a high priority.

(3) Another model for daycare in the future might be called a consumer model. Here the emphasis would be on helping parents make informed choices. The family would generally be considered competent to make child daycare decisions, and the role of policy would be to support and strengthen that competence through providing educational materials, consumer-oriented resource and referral centers, and a funding mechanism geared to the consumer rather than to the provider. The regulatory system would become a support to parents with a consumer protection perspective. Professional expertise would be "on tap, not on top."

Recently there have been many books and articles[2] warning against a delivery system for child daycare organized as a large government-run "program" and recommending something like a consumer model. Some of these writers believe that tax legislation alone can provide (without unwieldy government red tape) the financial assistance needed by parents who are not poor. Others believe that a group caught in the middle, the two-parent working family and single parents above the poverty level but not wealthy enough to pay a sizeable amount for their child care, need additional help in the form of vouchers on a sliding fee scale. Those arguing for tax legislation alone have not yet adequately defined how this issue of justice to the family caught in the middle is to be dealt with. Many writers are analyzing the figures on child care arrangements made by families, and discovering that most families now, as in the past, are making their own arrangements, often within family resources, and do not need formal child care centers or regulated homes.

Yet for families without relatives or friends to care for their children, the need for child care can be a desperate one, as any referral center can attest. Those working families who are not eligible for government subsidy and not wealthy enough to benefit fully from the tax credit may be a minority, but they are a significant minority. It is interesting that Senator Kennedy added an amendment, which failed to pass, to the recently enacted Tax Reform Act, which would have given child care money as reverse taxes to those families not wealthy enough to pay a tax.

Another form of the consumer model would make use of vouchers or of a central organization with a family supportive philosophy. There are interesting models in Orlando, Florida and Wichita, Kansas of systems which have created mechanisms for universally accessible child daycare. In Orlando, parents are given a choice of three programs, with the option of rejecting all three and continuing to search. They are given some guidance as to what to check for when they visit centers. No center may include more than 30% subsidized children. Parents pay on a sliding fee scale and the central agency, a 4-C, is billed for the difference. Funds come from Title XX and a variety of other public and private sources. The Orlando system is not perfect, by any means, since it works within constraints of federal and state policy. With the addition of some creative regulatory administration and a broader definition of eligibility for subsidy, this system could offer some useful directions for the future.

Where Does Day Care Belong in Government?

Daycare at present does not fit into any place in government. Placed in

Welfare, it becomes low priority, with emphasis on pathology, competing against major crises for attention. Placed in Education, it again becomes a low priority with undue emphasis on learning rather than development, competing against the enormous other problems in public schooling, including a failure to universalize kindergarten, and large new strains caused by the new policy directives to include children with special needs.

Given the size of the daycare network, its $10 billion costs and its countless non-monetized costs, its enormous potential for good or ill with respect to the family, child daycare must be a national priority. Yet placement within any of the present agencies as structures at present will result in its sinking to a lower priority. As part of government reorganization, some thought needs to be given to the appropriate place for needed policy leadership for child daycare.

The appropriate place, speaking rationally and not politically, might be outside HEW entirely, in HUD, which is the successor to the agency which supported child daycare under a variety of auspices in the Lanham Act Days; or as part of a Consumer Affairs agency with a concern for rights of families and children.

Yet, because of the importance of government responsiveness to local coordinative efforts, it is probably wiser to create an appropriate base for daycare within HEW, where the Secretary can take steps to assure working relationships with the other agencies whose cooperation is needed.

It is hoped that the Secretary will not move forward with reorganization which affects daycare without making an effort to crystallize the thinking of the proponents of the consumer model. Making a decision based on past experience with other types of services could result in a typical Epaminandus effect: an inappropriate solution to next year's problem because it was appropriate for last year's problem.[3] The future of the family is important enough, and the relation of daycare to the support of the family critical enough, for there to be some discussion and study specific to daycare before a decision is made.

However, a decision needs to be made within twelve months or even sooner. The present bureaucratic structure is wrong for child daycare.

During the past administration there was an unfortunate division of policy responsibility. The Office of Child Development had responsibility for standards and for some policy. The Social and Rehabilitative Services (SRS) had the money and the staff, and made policy as well. In the Regional Offices and the states there was a good deal of wheel-spinning while the administrators waited to find out who was really going to be responsible.

Right now, SRS is to report to the Human Development agency, and the expectation is that one place in government will have policy responsibility for child daycare. But no one agency has the knowledge and commitment to support the health of the family. SRS is geared to services for a narrow population group, and has made no moves to end the dual child welfare system which segregates the poor. It is unlikely that leadership in a universally accessible child daycare system will come from this agency, without specific mandate and personpower.

The daycare staff in the Office of Child Development has been inappropriately placed in the Children's Bureau, a traditionally oriented child welfare agency.[4] Within the goals and objectives of that agency, there can not be a priority for the elements of the consumer model for daycare policy.

It seems urgent that there be a division of the Office of Human Development, parallel and equal to the Children's Bureau. This division, geared to the support of the American family[5], would have direct control of daycare policy under Title XX or its successor.

A new agency for children and families could administer the child daycare program, the federal initiatives in education for parenting, and family impact research. Supports for the daycare network, such as training and consultation, belong here. Supports for consumers, such as information and resource centers, would be encouraged by such an agency. These compatible activities are of such scope and importance as to justify the creation of an agency to see that they have priority. As in the past, much daycare would continue to be non-monetized, and parents would continue to pay a large share of the monetized daycare. But combining the administration of that daycare subsidized by the government with policy directions which include all children would solve many of the present daycare dilemmas.

In Sweden, daycare is clearly considered to be a social service. However, in Sweden, social services are broadly defined and include support for the quality of life of all, not just the few. For example, parks and recreation are social services and community-controlled daycare for working families is supported as a desirable end in itself unrelated to family pathology. This country has no such philosophy, and daycare cannot fit into any existing agency until one is created with the emphasis on improving the quality of life for all children and their families.

THE TROUBLE WITH TITLE XX

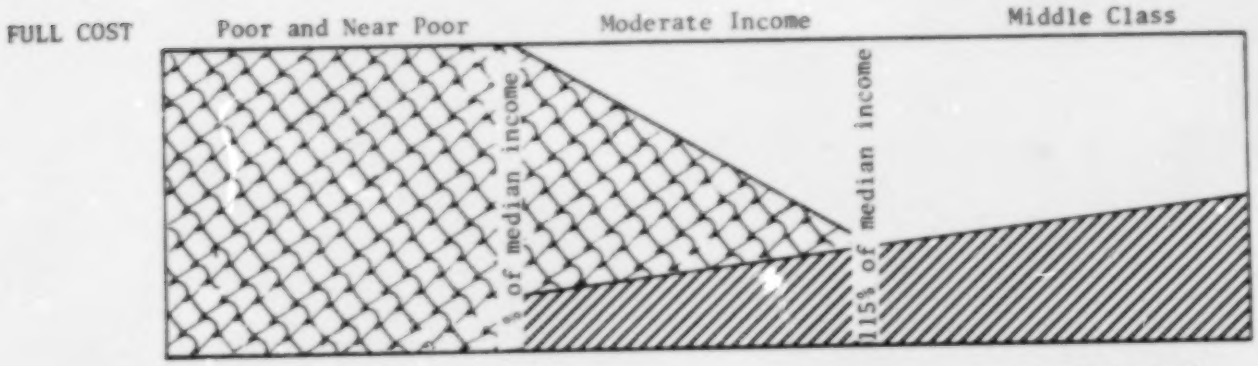
Most daycare is financed with federal Title XX money. These funds, which come through an amendment to the Social Security Amendments, provide 75% federal money for almost any social services the states want to plan. The matching 25% can come from the state or through the state from local public or private sources. Private in-kind matching is not permitted, but public in-kind matching in the form of budget commitment to staff or space, and public and private cash, can provide the matching funds.

This recent federal legislation has far-reaching potential for creating new and bold approaches. Title XX is not a welfare related piece of legislation. It could revolutionize the social service system, providing universally accessible services. Under Title XX, it is possible to shift from provider-oriented to consumer-oriented services.

Five states have already defined eligibility in a way which makes possible universally accessible services. Under this model, the poor are subsidized, the middle class pay for their own services, and working families not able to afford the full costs pay a sliding fee based on their income. It is this sliding fee for the middle group which provides the "glue" to create the universally accessible system.

States which have a sliding fee scale subsidy system and broad definition of eligibility do not have to limit family economic opportunity, or favor single parents over two parents struggling to maintain a family through employment. The model looks like this:

Figure 1



Families regardless of income can use the same program, buying in with parent fees or government subsidy.

- Subsidy by the states using federal money
- Subsidy through federal tax credit
- Fees paid by parents, based on ability to pay

However, many states have not yet taken full advantage of Title XX. Five states have defined eligibility at 115% of the median income; others have defined it in various ways. The country appears to be on its way to the policy in the above diagram in some places, with considerable variation. Fees are charged in 30 states, with plans to institute fees in many of the rest of the states.

In states which limit daycare to poor children who get it free, there are major injustices. Families in the middle suffer a "notch" effect; the minute they are able to earn more than the limit for free day care, they must pay the full costs of daycare, which they cannot afford. Some major problems with Title XX have become apparent.

1. The requirement of a single state agency for Title XX forces child daycare into an incompatible Welfare system.

In an effort to achieve coordination, Congress mandated that one agency be selected to administer the entire Title XX program. The result is that child daycare is forced into the Welfare system even though Congress did not intend it to be a Welfare program. A lack of coordination has resulted, and Congress might be asked to change this policy for child daycare.

In some states an Office of Child Development has been created in which child daycare programs could be administered. Yet even these states are forced by the requirement of a single state agency to group daycare with services more oriented to social pathology.

2. State-level control inhibits local officials from consolidating daycare with community development programs, manpower programs, economic development, schools.

During the sixties, categorical programs mushroomed, and local officials were helpless to eliminate duplication and waste, and to fit programs to local needs and goals. Citizens were bewildered by the complexity of their government.

Now the government has a number of block grant programs which are especially helpful to city officials. Daycare, manpower development, and economic development, for example, should be planned together at the local level, and yet it is very difficult under Title XX for local officials to bring this about. Congress or HEW might consider mandating that the states make block grants on a formula basis to cities applying for this responsibility, out of the total Title XX funds.

3. Single state agency means that daycare will not coordinate with Head Start, other programs.

The single state agency requirement means that there is a possibility of coordination at the state level with other child welfare services, but the more important coordination with other agencies has not been well-achieved. At present, there is little coordination between daycare and Head Start, despite a 1967 Congressional mandate.

4. No government agency at present has a family supportive philosophy such as is needed for child daycare.

Since the United States has a commitment to the private sector, policy-makers avoid government intrusion into the family. Our agencies are therefore all geared to respond to some problem, not to support the healthy, garden variety family. It would be difficult for existing agencies to offer support for families without identifying problems. An exception is the Education agency, but here there is a tendency to supplant the family for a narrowly defined purpose: learning. This agency looks at the child, too often, out of the family context.

5. Goals of Title XX are primarily adult goals, without priority for prevention and family support.

Each of the five Title XX goals has two aspects, a treatment aspect and a prevention aspect. Since daycare of children is and should be primarily a preventive, family supportive service, the prevention goals have particular relevance. To be effective for daycare, the prevention goals should have the same priority as the treatment goals. Title XX goals are:

Prevention	Treatment
Maintaining economic self-support to prevent or eliminate dependency	Achieving economic self-support to reduce or eliminate dependency
Maintaining self-sufficiency, including prevention of dependency	Achieving self-sufficiency including reduction of dependency
Preventing neglect, abuse, or exploitation of children	Remedying neglect, abuse or exploitation of children
Preventing inappropriate institutional care by providing for community-based care, home-based care, or other forms of less intensive care.	Reducing inappropriate institutional care by providing for community-based care, home-based care, or other forms of less intensive care
	Securing referral or admission for institutional care when other forms of care are not appropriate, or providing services to individuals in institutions

The above outline separates out all the various goals which Title XX has lumped together. None of them speaks to the quality of care the children receive, and none except the third is a goal for children.

For child daycare purposes the two important preventive goals, maintaining economic self-support and preserving families, are closely related since the family, if it is to survive, must be a viable economic unit. For the viability of the family, there must be jobs. Full employment in national policy is the cornerstone of humane family policy. Parents need to be able to provide food and shelter for their children; they need the self-esteem and autonomy which come with working with others and receiving a pay check for their work. This type of goal, which would enable earnings, rather than limiting them, in the interest of the family, is not likely to receive priority attention under the present bureaucratic arrangements for daycare.

6. Title XX places a ceiling on state expenditures.

When Title XX was passed, the Congress, alarmed over the quantum jump in federal reimbursements to states which were using Social Security Services

monies to replace state money in already-existing services, placed a ceiling on the total amount states could spend. Most states have now completed the process of matching their state expenditures with the federal dollars for reimbursement, and are now at the ceiling. Level funding in those states is causing hardship. Furthermore, there is a need for more child daycare. The Congress has raised the ceiling by a small amount for daycare purposes, but because of the lack of a maintenance of effort clause, many states are using the new money for other than daycare purposes. The ceiling needs to be raised.

7. Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements (FIDCR) work against including parents who pay for daycare.

These requirements, developed in 1967, are now out of date and need rethinking. Congress has postponed any further enforcement until Spring 1978 for staffing ratios, to allow time for this rethinking. Title XX has written standards into law, which is going to inhibit needed change and flexibility in enforcement. It would be preferable for the law to spell out the process of arriving at standards, require some re-examination at least every five years, and assure representation of all interests in the process.

8. A sliding fee scale, essential to the concept of universal accessibility, has not been established in 20 of the 50 states, although many are discussing it. The scale itself varies widely from state to state.

Title XX permits a sliding fee scale but leaves the option to the states as to the lower limit, the upper limit, and the fee to be paid. In the states which have had fee scales for some time, such as Connecticut, there may be enough useful experience so that the federal government could spell out a fair fee scale policy which is uniform across the states.

9. Limiting eligibility to the poor keeps people poor.

Five states take their fee scale up to 115% of the median income, but most place an eligibility ceiling well below that level, some near the poverty line. If poverty is a criterion for participation in the program, everyone must be poor and stay poor in order to participate. Middle class families suffer a "notch" effect: the minute they are able to earn more than the limit for free daycare they must pay the full costs of daycare, which they cannot afford. Daycare cannot offer economic opportunity to any family.

It is a catch-22 situation which offers child care in order to provide work opportunity, and then removes the enabling service if the participant is offered a reasonable wage. Parents should be encouraged to provide well for children.

10. Limiting eligibility discriminates against the two parent family, and offers incentives for family breakdown.

This problem has been discussed earlier, and stems from the way statistics group families by income on bar charts. It would be helpful to policy if the census and other population studies would separate the different kinds of families at the same income level: single parent families; two-parent families with one wage earner earning the entire income; two-parent families with two wage earners.

11. Limiting eligibility destroys commitment to continuity of care for a child.

When a family rises to an income above the income eligibility level established by its state, the child care program is expected to expel the child, or move the child to another type of care. Yet anyone with even the faintest knowledge of how children develop knows that nothing could be more harmful to a young child. The state accepts responsibility for a child, and provides relationships which build basic trust and security, then subjects the child to the pain of separation from those familiar people for accounting reasons. It is time that programs serve the needs of children, rather than accountants. The principle should be established that a child, once accepted, has a right to continue in the same program as long as the program is needed. Such a principle could be articulated in the law, or in guidelines, but it is high time that it be adopted.

12. Limiting eligibility segregates the poor.

Our country tends to develop a dual social service system in every field, with the middle class using different services than those used by the poor.[8] The services to the poor then have low status, both for the children and the professionals who work in them, but they serve the function of salving our consciences while protecting us from contact with the poor. Daycare has a different history, and need not go in this direction, although in many places it is far down the road toward segregation. With its history of serving working mothers during wartime, and with the current interest in new roles for mothers, fathers, and children in the family, daycare could easily at this time go in the better direction of universally accessible services.

13. There are disincentives for trying to serve all income levels.

Because those designing guidelines and contract and audit procedures have concentrated on the funded children, the system works against including children who have other sources of funds, such as parent fees, or special needs money. Many programs using Title XX funds are fully funded and serve only poor children. If our daycare programs included private fee-paying parents as well as subsidized children, there would be more of a vested interest in keeping costs down in the long run. Instead of following a conscious policy of encouraging programs to meet their total community's daycare needs, all our fiscal controls are pushing programs in the direction of either taking all subsidized or all unsubsidized children. Some daycare programs are valiantly trying to include a mix of children, but state policy works against them.

If it is desirable to include a mix of children, this policy could be stated in guidelines and law, and auditors could audit for the presence of this mix.

14. Method of payment causes serious cash flow problems, and some programs fail.

States generally reimburse for daycare after the service has been provided, with payments late, and no mechanism for front-end funding. This is a state problem which needs to be examined at the state level. If the state is not able to streamline its payment processes, some kind of revolving fund for interest-free loans to programs waiting for accounts receivable would provide stability. The method of establishing rates of reimbursement per child is arbitrary, and does not represent the documented costs of meeting required standards of quality. Payment and enrollment/attendance are handled differently by the various states. Some reimburse only for the time a child is actually attending, even though the program's incurred costs are just as great when the child is not attending. Others reimburse for average daily attendance, or for average enrollment. Some states reimburse for enrollment, but punish a program when attendance falls below a certain percentage (such as 80%) by a shift to reimbursement by attendance. This means that a measles epidemic causes huge financial losses, which some programs cannot survive. No educational program can survive a policy of reimbursement by attendance: there are better ways to achieve capacity operation. These are problems in state procedures, possibly with some pressures from fiscal officials in federal regional offices. While they could be changed at the state level, some advocates believe that more uniform and supportive fiscal policy should be adopted at the federal level and required of the states.

15. The present system is provider-dominated in most places, rather than oriented in a policy way toward the concerns of consumers of child daycare.

Although it is generally held to be highly desirable for parents to make their own decisions and feel that they are responsible, the present system of contracting, eligibility determination, and referral is tending more and more to emphasize provider issues and to force parents into feelings of dependency on the system. It is possible that a voucher payment system, which automatically would make the whole system more consumer-oriented, might be more desirable to providers and parents alike. Vouchers are sometimes recommended by those who believe that supply and demand will regulate the quality of child care: this idea is called a "market voucher" system. Most economists do not believe that a "market voucher" system would work; quality would probably suffer. However, a "regulated voucher" system, with attention to monitoring quality in programs eligible to receive vouchers, is worth trying out. Vouchers could be prioritized, and a sliding fee could be built into them. If children with special needs, poor children, and other categories come with their own funding, a consumer-oriented system of services which serve their communities could develop. Consumer-oriented resource and referral centers could provide parents with information on selection of child care services. Parent choice of child care could then become a powerful reinforcer of the parent role.

16. Training, consultation and support to the day care network is rare.

Title XX makes available training money, above the ceiling. Since public in-kind matching is possible, along with matching by private donations to the non-public colleges, it would be possible to finance new training without additional state money. Some states are involved in training; in others, no planning has yet been done to meet the daycare training needs.

Part of this problem is state lethargy; part of it stems from the problem of the single state agency. Welfare Departments have had training money available under Title IV-B of the Social Security Amendments for a long time, and priority for daycare training has been expressed in connection with these funds. Yet there has been little daycare training under Title IV-B. Guidelines for IV-B give priority for training by Schools of Social Work. Short term training is possible by other kinds of schools, but the priority is not for short-term training. The kinds of training needed by the daycare field are not within the competence, nor the interests, of most schools of social work. For this reason, even with state priority for daycare training, there has been very little daycare training, under Title IV-B. Without some attention to opening up the planning of the daycare training to daycare people, this situation could continue, since the schools with high competence in child growth and development and in daycare, are not known to the training staff in the agencies making the decisions.

17. State licensing staff members are not receiving training in regulatory concepts.

Despite the fact that licensing and federal interagency daycare requirements are issues of national importance and debate, Title XX policy has not encouraged the training of licensing staff. Poorly trained staff are ineffective regulators, and may arouse hostility of state legislators, weakening the regulation further.

18. Federal standards have weakened state licensing without providing an effective strong replacement.

Since the furor over standards written into Title XX is law, it appears that state licensing has been adversely affected by fall-out from the battles, and the two regulatory strategies have substantially weakened, rather than reinforced, one another. Furthermore, some states have attempted to improve their daycare licensing, by removing it to another agency other than the one which provides the service, thereby getting away from the inherent conflict of interest when the purchaser also enforces standards. Yet states which have licensing placed in other agencies are told that Offices of Child Development cannot receive Title XX training funds because of the single state agency requirement. If this is true, federal policy needs to be changed at either in law or guideline.

Training in licensing concepts, legal enforcement, rights of licensees, fiscal regulation, the standard-setting process, and the like are of overriding importance, both from the perspective of licensing and from the perspective of what standards should be applied to Title XX daycare. Such

training should be a clear national priority. Yet the few colleges offering institutes for licensing and monitoring staffs have had great financial difficulty because of the lack of priority of this important topic in policy.

19. Sixteen federal contract requirements apply when the state purchases child daycare under Title XX.

Initially these contract requirements were to apply for family daycare as well as center care, but the government realized that they were too cumbersome for the small center provider. The result is that only the large and sophisticated agencies can deal with the state, even though we know through research and observation that small daycare agencies may sometimes provide more loving care. The more complex our bureaucratic requirements, the more we inhibit parent choice and squeeze out the small, informal arrangements which children love.

The federal government could develop simple contract forms as guidance material to the states. However, those concerned with contracting and auditing are not likely to be the same people who understand the relation of fiscal policy to program goals. Of what use is protecting our funds through legally solid agreements if that process results in less care, or lower quality care, as may be the case?

20. The process of determining eligibility has become increasingly demeaning to parents, and inappropriate for child daycare as a family supportive service.

Some states have a "closed referral" system under which those needing child care must go through a demeaning process at the Welfare office instead of applying at the daycare program. Parent feeling of control of decisions is weakened as this happens. The process of applying for services should be carefully designed so that it will not in itself undermine the goals of the program: self-sufficiency and strong and autonomous families.

Furthermore, there have been efforts to collect and computerize information about families which is not related to need for or eligibility for daycare. This raises the issue of invasion of privacy.

21. Monitoring of quality has been inadequate and unhelpful, in most states.

Neither the federal government nor most states have made a strong effort to assure quality in the daycare purchased, especially in the non-contracted programs. Further, many states are assigning lower priority to licensing programs in which parents pay the full cost. Unrealistic work loads have been assigned to licensing workers, and there may be a trend to add the monitoring of programs for children with special needs to the licensing work in the future. This is a state problem, and needs to be addressed at the state level. Yet since Title XX requires licensure, it should offer some federal leadership.

22. Some states do not encourage local financial participation.

In studying the pattern of financing across the country, one finds wide variation in the way the states produce the 25% non-federal share to attract the 75% Title XX federal funding. Some states match the federal money almost entirely with state money; while other states use much more local money. Totals for the child daycare in those states spending most are shown on the following chart:

STATE	DAYCARE BUDGET	% of TOTAL TITLE XX	LOCAL TO STATE RATIO IN THE MATCHING $
New York	$158,981,511	54.82%	1/1
Illinois	95,887,000	30.3	6/35
California	61,166,954	24	31/40
Pennsylvania	57,682,976	30.6	1/3.7
Michigan	41,174,202	28.72	2/33
New Jersey	37,815,551	43.1	5/4
Texas	30,742,324	16.5	1/3
Louisiana	22,216,028	21.55	1/3
Massachusetts	21,541,722	23.1	1/22
Ohio	20,016,196	11.75	17/25
Georgia	19,371,733	25	1/4
Alabama	16,510,100	29.41	4/9
North Carolina	15,773,363	21.60	13/5
Minnesota	14,529,353	12	more than1/1
Maryland	12,010,000	26.5	1/1
Arkansas	8,562,707	43	2/3
Virginia	9,168,728	14	5/2
Tennessee	8,823,596	18	6/5
Connecticut	8,081,459	18.29	1/9
Kansas	8,250,800	30	1/2
South Carolina	7,551,041	17.44	2/9
Indiana	7,973,856	11	2/15
Oklahoma	6,308,438	8.51	0/
West Virginia	5,560,612	25	2/3
Mississippi	5,984,674	47.47	1/2

The advantages of the state matching money are obvious - programs can develop more quickly and they are not burdened with local financial problems. However, for the future development of a service like child daycare, it is likely that state commitment will limit the size of the program to what it can sustain in state taxes. It may limit communities from expansion of needed services. Similarly, it is commendable that the federal Congress has been willing to pay a large share of child care but in the long run this may limit the program overall to what appears reasonable in comparison with other federal expenditures.

In Sweden, the national share is about 1/3 of the per child cost, and the commitment of the local community and parent fees make a universally accessible system financially feasible.

Local financial participation produces a local involvement and commitment to stability which is desirable for certain kinds of services, such as services to the elderly, and child daycare. Local financing may be difficult to establish, but programs without it are more easily eliminated with shifts in policy trends.

Connecticut also appropriates state funds for a state run daycare program in its Department of Community Affairs. A sliding fee scale has been in place since before Title IV-A in 1967. The state permits families below 40 % of the median income to pay a voluntary fee if they choose to.

This issue of the best mix of federal, state, and local funds, and of public and private funds, needs further discussion. Of course it is clear that local funds in the large cities must come from the federal level under some kind of block grant; cities' resources compared with their human needs are weak.

23. Fragmented responsibility for young children with special needs is likely to be an increasing problem.

Title XX, and its single state agency, relate very little to Head Start and the schools. Head Start is mandated to include a percentage of children with special needs. States are passing laws mandating schools to pay for the education of children with special needs, sometimes including the younger ages from 3 - 5. No adequate program of monitoring quality has been thought through, and there does not appear to be a clear and accountable decision-making process. States need to think through how these programs for young children can combine and relate to one another.

OPTIONS FOR NEW LEGISLATION

All these problems with Title XX have solutions, if the decision-makers have the will to make changed policy. Most of them refer to the policy for spending the appropriated funds regardless of the size of the appropriation. Broadened eligibility, for example, is desirable policy in itself, regardless of whether additional funds are available, although, of course, a modest expansion of daycare would also be desirable.

Before trying to persuade Congress, the President, or the Secretary of HEW to make changes, advocates need to clearly identify whether the problem is at the state level or the federal level, and whether the needed change should be legislated or made administratively.

ISSUE	Primarily Federal or State	Legislative or Administrative
1. Single state agency	F	L
2. Local officials cannot coordinate	F	L
3. Lack of coordination with other federal programs such as Head Start	F	L
4. No government agency has family support philosophy	FS	L
5. Adult goals, without priority for prevention	F	L
6. Ceiling on state expenditures	F	L
7. FIDCR raise cost for fee-paying parents	F	LA
8. Sliding fee not adopted	S	A (L)
9. Limited eligibility	S	A (L)
10.		
11.		
12.		
13. No incentives to serve all income levels	F	A
14. Method of payment slow, no front end	S	A (L)
15. System provider dominated	F	L
16. Little training and support	S	A
17. Little training licensing workers	F	A
18. FIDCR and state licensing weaken one another	FS	L
19. I6 contract requirements inhibit parent choice, eliminate small operator	FS	A
20. Eligibility determination demeaning	FS	A
21. Inadequate and unhelpful monitoring	SF	A
22. Lack of local financial participation inadequate incentives	F	L
23. Fragmented responsibility for young children with special needs	FS	L

The legislative proposals for new daycare policy include the following approaches:

Amend Title XX

Pass a Comprehensive Child and Family Services Act

Substitute for Title XX, or add to it, Human Services block grants

Continue to improve tax credits as a way of funding child care

Title XX Amendments

Amending Title XX, which can be done, would provide us with daycare on a social service model, and attention would have to be given to assure priority for daycare policy in agencies and among professionals accustomed to dealing with crisis emergency services rather than preventive or family supportive activities. Elements of the consumer model need to be built into this reform.

Comprehensive Child and Family Services Act

It is not a foregone conclusion, but there are strong possibilities that this bill, if passed, would use the public education mechanism as the delivery system.[9] Many daycare advocates are strongly opposed to exclusive use of the schools, although of course recognizing that some schools can and should participate.

The schools have some advantages.[10] They see themselves, and are seen by the public, as providing universal services to all social classes. They are not pathology oriented. They have a well-established position in use of federal, state, and local tax dollars. They have buildings and access to building money for new buildings or renovations. They have access to state and federal funds to serve young children with special needs: why not mainstream these children by serving the whole population?

Those who are alarmed at the prospect are primarily concerned that child daycare, a supplement to family childrearing, would be taken over by government as a governmental function, creating dangers for parents' feelings of autonomy and responsibility. Some of the troubles:

The schools tend to be child-centered and proud of it. When Albert Shanker first proposed school control of the Child and Family Services Act, his first suggestion was removing the word "family" from the name of the bill. Schools tend to center on the child out of the context of his or her family. Daycare experts believe the focus should be on the dyad, supporting child growth through the activities at the program but even more through support of the parent-child interaction. Daycare programs tend to define themselves as an extended family;[4] schools seldom do. The philosophy of the Kaiser Child Service Centers during World War II was "Meeting Needs." Whatever was needed to improve the quality of the time when children and parents were together, that was considered the work of the daycare program, along with the direct work with the children.

The schools would professionalize child-rearing, intimidating families and undermining parental judgment and autonomy.

The schools would be likely to create a more permanent system, with fixed buildings and tenured staff, unable to shift and change locations, grow and decline, as the pattern of demand in child daycare necessarily shifts. The very fact that school buildings are underutilized and teachers are unemployed is evidence of the inflexibility of the system to adapt to changing conditions. The purchase of service system widely used in Title XX gives much more flexibility to that system.

The schools are likely to duplicate, rather than use, the existing network of centers and private homes. Although it is possible and desirable to build a purchase of service capability into schools' daycare provisions, it is unlikely that the system would make wide use of it. When schools have begun kindergartens, for example, they have usually started their "own" regardless of whether the existing private kindergarten might continue to meet the need. The change has sometimes been an improvement, sometimes a lowering of quality.

When schools universalize, they tend to make their services compulsory. At best, the expectation is that most children will go there, or "ought" to go there. While daycare is an important need which should be legitimized by public recognition of its value, it is not desirable to legitimize formal center care or satellite home systems above the informal arrangements which families are able to make on their own. Both have value.

School operation would probably shift more non-monetized child daycare into the sector of public expenses, in emphasizing the formal arrangements over informal. This would add to the public expense, without necessarily improving the childrearing.

While child daycare needs to be universally accessible, it is unlikely that this can be done in the forseeable future, without parent fees on a sliding fee scale. Schools are unaccustomed to such a mechanism.

Schools do not coordinate well, unless coordinative mechanisms and funds are built into the design. Thus Follow Through provides a coordination with Head Start on a demonstration basis, but where there is not Follow Through, schools, daycare, and Head Start are not involved in coordination. There are seldom community planning efforts which make maximum use of Health and Mental Health services for children in schools, daycare, and Head Start. Some of the expertise in child development which exists in the daycare and private nursery field, as well as Head Start, could prevent schools from failing as they respond to demands for service from children with special needs, but the coordination is not taking place, except in rare instances.

The public education system is not a good regulatory agency. Even if schools were able to gear up to purchase services from the local nursery, Head Start, or daycare programs, they are not equipped to monitor quality. They would have to rely on state licensing for such a purpose.

When schools provide the service themselves, they are not good self-regulators, nor are they adequately monitored. They do, however, receive a good deal of regulation from the Health and Safety bureaucracies, which are accustomed to a much higher child-staff ratio and much larger overall size in the schools than is the present practice in daycare. The regulation of daycare as if it were a restaurant, a hospital, or a large school tends to institutionalize it, and destroy the warm, comfortable, homelike aspects which are important.

Philosophically, the schools tend to focus on learning, rather than development. For child daycare, with children in full time care, such a

view is too narrow, and would not only prevent the schools from nurturing all aspects of development, but also could contribute to harming young children. Teachers concentrating on lesson plans sometimes overlook their effect on children's self-esteem. The important word, "care," is denigrated; schools don't provide care.

If the schools are to be the primary delivery system, all these troubles need to be addressed specifically in the legislation. Retraining of teachers would be essential, and it is possible that something like a CDA competency-based credential, further developed to include daycare skills, should be required when credentialed teachers work in daycare. It is equally important to avoid the present rigid credentialing for daycare, offering a career ladder through in-service training for members of the child's community.

Block Grants

Block grants, or special revenue sharing for human services, is an appealing idea for municipal officials and some county officials. Title XX is itself a human service block grant, but the decision about expenditures are usually controlled by the states. Cities, in particular, have had too little voice in Title XX decisions affecting their overall programs for their citizens.

Daycare programs need to be coordinated with manpower programs. Mayors have control of their manpower decisions, but they cannot get a handle on daycare policy under Title XX.

A forward-looking local official who wants to design human services and human development programs together, understanding the economic ways of supporting the family with job opportunities as well as the social service needs, is inhibited by the social service philosophy at the state level.

A special revenue sharing bill for human services could be introduced into the Congress. This could be far-reaching, replacing Title XX entirely with a more workable system. Or a more modest suggestion would be a block grant to cities over a certain size, which would be used very freely, as the Appalachian Regional Commission's daycare money has been used by states, as free money which can be the glue to hold a number of different programs together in a single coordinated system.

Highly specialized services might best be planned and funded from the state level. Other services, like daycare and services to the elderly, need to be planned and carried out by local people, using neighborhood, not state regions, as the planning unit.

The trouble with block grants: in relinquishing control in order to permit greater local flexibility, the federal government often relinquishes standards; the present compromise of distributing money to cities and states, as in the case of manpower block grants, is a political compromise rather than a decision made from considerations of good government. It tends to work against uniform substate geographic areas in which different agencies could begin to gather useful data about the same client populations.

Politically, there are both advantages and disadvantages to this idea for the daycare advocates. By seeing their service in the context of overall human services, they gain a better understanding of the way daycare fits together with other policy. They gain important allies and offer their support to an improved quality of life.

However, it would be very naive to expect that, once the victory is won, other advocates will support a priority for daycare. Block grants put services in competition against one another, as they already are in Title XX.

Tax Credits and Other Tax Incentives for Child Daycare

Many advocates of the consumer model of child care, particularly those with a middle-class professional perspective, want to avoid government direct subsidy in order to avoid government intervention into the family. More indirect subsidy through tax legislation leaves families in greater control, selecting their own type of child care and paying for it themselves.

The argument is valid. However, the credit benefits the middle-class much more than it benefits families with two wage earners earning a moderate income. (Those who have a choice about whether or not to work now have some help with their decision favoring child care, in the new tax credit.) The credit becomes less and less valuable to families as income decreases, since the working families could not pay for very expensive child care in order to gain most in the 20% credit. Below $7000 the poor, of course, do not pay a tax and do not get the credit. Presumably we will continue direct subsidy for the poor, if they are to have daycare, while giving a credit to the middle-class, supporting a dual social service system unless we are very careful in design of our daycare programs to encourage or require private fee-paying parents wherever subsidies to the poor are made.

The group which benefits most from the tax credit is the family earning more than $15,000. In 1970 families in this category were about 20% of the total population. Those earning between $6,000 and $15,000, who benefit less, were about 53.3% of the total. Those needing full direct subsidy, under $6,000 in income, were about 26% of the total.

The tax credit recently enacted is a big step forward in daycare policy, but it leaves a very large number of families caught in the middle not eligible for subsidy and not benefiting much, if at all, from the credit.

Some kind of a loan fund which gave vouchers to moderate income families which could be repaid after receiving the credit might be possible, but such a system would be very complex. It might be much easier for the country to offer daycare vouchers universally and then tax them for the middle class.[11]

In a recent interview, the Secretary of HEW mentioned an interest in employment-related daycare. If employers, whether for-profit or not-for-profit, were to offer a partial subsidy to supplement parent fees, this practice would bring more daycare help to working people. Tax legislation could offer incentives for employers to participate in daycare if carefully designed. Government-designed "incentives" in the past have not offered employers any

real inducement to participate. Some of the considerations which are important:

Location. While a significant minority of working parents feel deeply that they want their children near the work location, where they can have lunch and be available in emergencies, the majority of parents prefer the residential location where they live. Employers would need to support both kinds of locations for daycare for their employees.

Auspices. (Most employers do not want to operate daycare programs themselves, as they expressed their feelings at three conferences run by the Urban Research Corporation in Chicago.) They do not want to make decisions about admission and retention of children. Many industry-related programs have been operated by separate Boards of Directors in which parents play a strong role, as in the KLH program in the past, and Stride-Rite at present. Other industries much prefer to join forces with other employers and the community, to support community-based child care. Any tax "incentives" will have to be geared to this kind of desire.

Financial feasibility. There are benefits to employers in making daycare possible. These benefits--reduced absenteeism, reduced turnover, larger pool of potential employees for recruitment, reduced family-related anxiety affecting productivity, greater good will, and possibly product image--can be quantified, and in some cases where the benefit equals the cost of the daycare, can be used to justify financial participation. In many situations however, the benefits quantify well below the costs of daycare, and there would be an overall substantial loss for the employers to participate, even with the parents paying fees.

Similarly, the not-for-profit employer must also participate if all working people are to be reached with a program. Some kind of real incentive must be devised if this idea is to have any widespread viability. It seems likely that some kind of money coming in, such as federal matching grants, would have to be the policy. Another solution would be to require all employers to participate, as some countries do. This would simply add to the cost of their operation, but all would be equally affected. It seems likely that a result would be discrimination in hiring against mothers of young children, which would be difficult to prove and contest.

Economic Stability. Conditions of employer support for child care will differ in time of recession or boom.[12] Public policy must provide the needed stability so that daycare programs do not have to close down when employees are laid off. Policy must permit shifts toward less or greater reliance on employer subsidy if that is a major part of daycare policy. The problems in this solution, while not insurmountable, seem much greater than direct subsidy to the consumer. However, it would tap another funding source, reducing the overall cost to government and to parents.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Regardless of the form which future legislation may take, the foregoing discussion identifies some major policy principles, and some major issues.

1. The child daycare professional is part of the problem. There is a tendency to define solutions as "what we do" rather than in terms of meeting human needs.[13]

Recommendation: There needs to be a mechanism for a strong citizen-consumer voice in policy, not necessarily through the 51% representation on Advisory Councils, but in other ways as well. A shift of funding toward the consumer away from the provider would help. Parent oriented resource and referral centers will also have a desirable effect.

2. Our social services to children are class biased.[15] Two systems, one for the poor and another for the middle-class, create a stigma for publicly funded services, and hostility to the poor.

Recommendation: Move toward universally accessible services, especially for daycare.

3. Our services often undermine family self-esteem, treating recipients as victims, or at best "clients".

Recommendation: Treat users of services as consumers. Experiment with regulated vouchers, shifting funding to consumer. Offer resource and referral centers giving parents information to make informed choices.

4. Free child care for all is not financially feasible with tax money at present.

Recommendation: Universality requires a sliding fee. We need to move toward a taxicab model of funding, and away from a fire engine model. In the fire engine model, everybody paid a part of fire fighting equipment and service, and when the fire engine came, it was free. More and more, now we are paying for services, and differentiating how much we pay on the basis of how specialized the service was. A sliding fee scale adds the dimension of ability to pay.

5. Daycare is a family-supportive and preventive service on the whole, although if the majority of children are considered healthy, it can be a useful treatment tool as well. Yet no agency of government has this as a priority.

Recommendation: Create a new agency, staffed with leadership in a family supportive philosophy. Functions of such a new agency would be:

Provision of vouchers for daycare on a sliding fee scale

Support of resource and referral centers

Production of educational materials on selection of child daycare

Support for parenting education and family daycare education

Family impact statements

Training of state licensing offices in effective consumer protection

Training funds for daycare administrators

Training funds for daycare staff, including development of new modes of parent-staff partnership

Dissemination of information; research

Relation to state and local recreation agencies; agricultural stations

Planning linkages with health, social services, schools, Head Start, Mental Health, Manpower programs, and economic development

6. Recommendation: Government should stop trying to predict long-term demand. Recently we have seen a somewhat ridiculous debate between those who see the need for daycare as the difference between the number of children of working mothers and the number of children in formal daycare arrangements, versus those who look at the data on what working parents are doing with their children and conclude that no new daycare is needed. Obviously the truth lies between these two extremes. It is doubtful if the number of children in daycare centers or regulated daycare homes will ever reach 20% of the children of working mothers. Experience in Sweden and other countries has been that families continue to make their own informal arrangements when they can, even when a well-liked and stable formal daycare system is available. When informal arrangements cannot be made, daycare can become a desperate necessity.

There is no absolute number which represents the final, future demand for child daycare. It depends. It depends on the fluctuations of the economy; demand will be greater at some times than others. It depends on the types of jobs available. If and when part-time jobs are available in ready supply the pattern of daycare demand will be different. It depends on the type of income maintenance available, how adequate it is for meeting survival needs of families and how adequate it is for meeting the needs for self-respect among adults and the needs children have to look up to the role models in their parents. It depends on the quality of the daycare and how well it matches consumer needs and expectations in its location.

If we postpone daycare decisions until we can predict all these factors, or have made firm and final policy in all these areas, we are going to wait forever. There is no one final policy which will describe the way things are supposed to be. Any society, like any living organism, is in constant interaction with the people and things in the environment, constantly changing goals as conditions change. This dynamic change is the constant; it is the way things are supposed to be. We are not evolving

toward some correct fixed condition; the evolution and change itself is the condition we will forever be addressing in our policy.

There is no absolute number representing daycare demand, any more than there is an absolute daycare cost. The only way to play daycare is to plan incrementally, in small steps, in the direction of consumer demand.

It is well known that daycare demand builds very gradually in response to a new service. The Kaiser Child Service Centers, planned to serve 1000 children, were disappointed that children in that number were not enrolled on the first day. Ultimately, the demand materialized, but demand patterns were significantly different than need predictions. This has been true over and over again in this country's daycare, so much so that slow demand should be a factor taken into account whenever new daycare begins.

For this reason, demand studies which include daycare, if they are to be valid, need to be no less than three years in duration, and probably are not solid as predictors until after five years.

Ten years ago, and even five years ago, such studies were recommended but never undertaken. At this time, it no longer seems sensible to recommend long range demand studies. We know families need daycare, and they need it now. We know the demand will not produce a runaway service, but will be modest.

Sensible policy would be to increase daycare, within a fixed appropriation, but with broad eligibility, with improved support systems in the form of training and consultation, both to centers and homes. It appears from consumer studies that we need a modest increase in the number of children in centers, over time perhaps double what we now have, but a much smaller increase now; and we need better support for the family daycare homes.

The delivery system should be flexible enough to shift as patterns of consumer demand shift. The best indicator of consumer preferences would be what consumers choose, given options. It is time to provide these options.

7. Recommendation: Government should stop trying to control decisions which should be family decisions. There is altogether too much discussion among policy-makers about what families "should" do. Should parents work? The person best able to figure the odds on that question is a parent. His/her decision will be based on what the job would pay; what expenses the family feels are vital; what alternative income maintenance is available and how it is viewed by parents and by those whose respect they want, including their children; what the job contributes or detracts from the parent in personal functioning; what child care is available and what the parent thinks of it; and a number of other highly personal factors. Knowing all these factors, each individual parent has the data to make a wise decision; government never could.

Should parents use center care, family daycare or in-home care? Again the factors to be considered are many and they will differ from family to family depending on family values and what kind is available. Government should not be trying to make these choices for families; it should be offering information to them.

We are not going to be able to support the family if we cannot trust them to plan for themselves and their children. What we need to do is to make a variety of options available to parents, and provide them with information about the choices.

Daycare alone is not the answer, whether the question is welfare reform, improved school performance for children, liberation of women, greater power for black people and other minorities, prevention of child abuse, or any other social policy issue.

Daycare for children is important and necessary, but it must be seen in a context of a society committed also to family income maintenance, and to full employment. These three social policy issues together need to be addressed in a way which adds up to a genuine choice for families.

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3. Epaminandus brought home a gift of butter from his grandmother under his hat on his head; however, the hot sun melted it. His mother told him how to wrap it in green leaves and cool it in water before bringing it home. When he went for his next visit to his grandmother, she gave him a puppy. He cooled it in the brook until it was almost dead and then wrapped it in green leaves. His mother explained how to bring home a puppy: tie a string around its neck, set it on the road and walk home tugging at the string. When he next visited his grandmother she gave him a loaf of bread, which he dragged home on the dusty road at the end of a string, etc.

4. Daycare is one of the basic supports to keeping the healthy family self-sufficient. Unfortunately, some writers have not understood this, and present daycare is undermining to the family. Poor day care has the potential of undermining the family, particularly if run by naive professionals. Much day care defines its role nowadays as part of the family, extended supportive help shared among people. Thus we see daycare providing a food coop, a clothing exchange, reminiscent of the World War II period when daycare and the government saw their purpose as improving the quality of the time parents and children spent together. A small for-profit proprietor, who

had a dream of helping families and who was seeing her program destroyed by a combination of contract requirements and regulatory red tape, told me: "Day care is not just like a school; it's more like a family. Last week one of the children who used to come here to me had her father die. They called me first thing, and I went and got Charlene and brought her home with me. We talked about her daddy, and what dying means, and she spent the night with me. I think she'll come through it all right. Families need someone to turn to, who has shared their children with them, and scolded them and cared about them right along."

5. See Bergstrom and Morgan, Issues in the Design of a Delivery System for Day Care and Child Development Services to Children and Their Families, DCCDCA, May 1975. Bergstrom and Morgan make a distinction between day care as a "preventive" service and day care as a "family supportive" service. Morgan has developed the following fable to illustrate the importance of prevention and family supportive approaches in public policy:

> Long ago in a noble and compassionate land, the elders decided to save people who were drowning. A number of life savers were employed and stationed on the beach. These life savers had been trained through a study of charts of sand bars on the ocean floor. They were told that their life saving must be reserved for those who are drowning far out to sea, at the lowest sand bar, since their need for life saving was greatest. They were also trained never to look at faces.
>
> The life savers were dedicated to their work. Each day they plunged into the sea and brought in the inert bodies of the drowning victims. Artificial respiration was applied, and some of the victims revived, though many did not.
>
> As they made their way toward the drowning victims the life savers passed by other swimmers who appealed to them for help. "I am losing my footing," a bather would say. "Reach out and help me get my feet under me or I may drown." The life savers, however, were not permitted to help such people, because the drowning people needed help more. They continued to swim past the people just beginning to be engulfed, in order to bring in more drowning victims.
>
> Their training had a curious effect on them. Since they never looked at faces, they never recognized the drowning victims as the same people who had been refused their help on earlier plunges into the sea. They thought the drowning victims were some other class of people.
>
> Each year the numbers of drowning people increased, and more and more life savers had to be employed to bring them to shore. Nobody could understand why this should be, when the land was making such an effort with its dedicated and well trained life savers.

6. The concept of this diagram first came from a workshop at the Industry and Day Care Conference of the Urban Research Corporation in Chicago. Carl Staley was the first to use this diagram which has since been widely used in discussion and in print. See: The Role of the Family in Child Development, Education Commission of the States, December 1975.

7. See Mon Cochran, talk on the relation of employment and family policy at DCCDCA meeting, Wilmington, Delaware, 1977.

   Although in recent decades the social service system may have lost sight of the importance of adequate (not low-income) employment for parents, this is not a new concept. In 1919, Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau, said, "Children are not safe and happy if their parents are miserable, and parents must be miserable if they cannot protect a home against poverty. Let us not deceive ourselves: the power to maintain a decent family living standard is a primary essential of child welfare." (Bradbury, Five Decades of Action for Children).

8. See Alvin Schorr, Children and Decent People, New York, Basic Books, 1974.

9. See American Federation of Teachers, Manual for Getting Daycare in the Public Schools, 1976.

10. Norton Grubb, op. cit.

11. Norris E. Class, Rolland C. Gerhart Jr., with Rudolf Michaels and Walter Wadlington, "A Conceptual Statement on the Enforcement of Child Day Care Licensing Standards: With Special Reference to Revocation," December 1976. Paper commissioned by the Secretary of HEW as part of a series of papers relative to the evaluation of the "appropriateness" of the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements of 1968.

12. One page of the proposal for funding to the Children's Bureau from the KLH Child Development Center was devoted to this issue. It was not expected that industry related child care could maintain itself in the private sector without some governmental partnership which would become greater in time of recession. As it turned out, this problem became an important one in that project. By the time the daycare center had weathered some time-consuming start-up problems, and a disagreement over the way research was to be conducted, the industrial company was affected by a recession which caused its work force to shrink from 600 women workers to less than 100. Although the planners of the daycare program had not foreseen this event, it had been discussed as a theoretical problem in the proposal. It was this, and no other factor, which forced the center to develop other sources of support beyond those initially foreseen, since government did not offer the needed stability for the children of parents no longer employed.

13. See Alvin Schorr, Children and Decent People, where one central thesis is that "services to children are in the hands of a series of professionals--social workers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, and nurses--who come to define what needs to be done for children in terms of what they or their employing organizations are prepared to do."

    An example, quoted from a Child Welfare League publication with a revealing title, Child Welfare as a Field of Social Work Practice, defines child welfare as "...social work practice in providing social services to children and youths whose parents are unable or need help to carry their child-rearing responsibilities, or whose communities fail to provide the resources and protection that children and their families require." (CWL and U.S. Children's Bureau, 1959, p.6)

14. "Available" childcare means childcare at a price parents can afford, within a reasonable distance of where they work or live. Once parents have determined their available options, they will evaluate them in terms of their preferences for their children.

15. John Dewey said, "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children " (quoted in Schorr, op. cit.). Yet we find that when the children are poor, and when the government cares for dependent children, the services are different than those chosen by self-sufficient parents. "Although they are 'children of the public,' they are not cherished by the state as a parent cherishes his own child," according to Shirley Jenkins (in Schorr, op. cit). The United States Children's Bureau was established to investigate and report on "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people," wording which asserts a national interest in overall policy for children rather than only children who are deprived. Yet policy has not generally followed that directive, and the community selects services in response to a focus on poverty, neglect and problems, which are significantly different from the services being selected by the best and wisest parents.

Postscript

The Educational Resources Information Center/Early Childhood Education Clearinghouse (ERIC/ECE) is one of a system of 16 clearinghouses sponsored by the National Institute of Education to provide information about current research and developments in the field of education. The clearinghouses, each focusing on a specific area of education (such as early childhood, teacher education, languages and linguistics), are located at universities and institutions throughout the United States.

Each clearinghouse staff searches systematically to acquire current, significant documents relevant to education. These research studies, speeches, conference proceedings, curriculum guides, and other publications are abstracted, indexed and published in Resources in Education (RIE), a monthly journal. RIE is available at libraries, or may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Another ERIC publication is Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE), a monthly guide to periodical literature which cites articles in more than 700 journals and magazines in the field of education. Articles are indexed by subject, author, and journal contents. CIJE is available at libraries, or by subscription from Macmillan Information, 909 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Early Childhood Education Clearinghouse (ERIC/ECE) distributes a quarterly newsletter which reports on new programs and publications and RIE documents of special interest. For a complete list of ERIC/ECE publications, or if you would like to subscribe to the Newsletter, write: ERIC Clearinghouse/Early Childhood Education, University of Illinois, 805 West Pennsylvania Avenue, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

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